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633 tributary area does not extend beyond the state, it does include the coffee and cacao areas, parts of the São Francisco basin, and the sertão of Bahia. It is the focus of transportation and communication, of finance and administration, and of foreign trade for the entire state. Despite the economic, political, and social pre-eminence of Salvador, a few cities operate quasi-independently in a particular function, notably Ilhéus and Itabuna, in the cacao area.

The next largest cities in the Recôncavo--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas--are much alike in size, location, and function. Feira de [162] Santana--often called merely Feira--with 26,559 people in 1950, was the second largest city of the Recôncavo and of the state. It is the [543] cite of one of the most famous cattle fairs in Brazil.[33] Alagoinhas is smaller--21,289 people in 1950--and less notable historically. It is the third largest city of the Recôncavo and the fifth largest of the state. One of the common functions of both these cities is trans- 633 portation. Feira is the railhead of railroads from Salvador and from 494 Cachoeira and is the junction of the Transnordestina trunk highway 496 which crosses the northeast interior of Brazil, with a highway to Salvador and with the only highway from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Alagoinhas is the junction where the railroad (Leste) to Senhor do Bonfim and Juàzeiro--on the Rio São Francisco--branches from the main line from Salvador to Maceió, the capital of the state of Alagoas. Just outside Alagoinhas are the main railroad shops of the Leste line 633 (Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro). The position of these cities, 369 intermediate between the Recôncavo and the sertão, is reflected in 291 the appearance of the people who are met on their streets--dark 142 Recôncavo agriculturalists in straw hats, patched khaki trousers, and wooden clogs and rustiço vaquéiros (cowboys) from the sertão in 633 their leather hats and vests. Each has a number of postos (garages) 495 161

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633 to service the hundreds of trucks and busses which are transforming
495 the transportation of the interior. Both cities reflected their
161 growing function by a great increase in population between 1940 and 1950.

633 Cachoeira-São Félix, 16,697 people in 1950,[34] and Santo Amaro,
[162] 12,258 people in 1950, are respectively the fourth and fifth largest cities in the Recôncavo and the eighth and tenth largest cities in
[443] Bahia. Both of these cities are important agricultural and marketing centers within the Recôncavo, and both are notable historical centers. Santo Amaro was the great local social and economic focus of the slave-holding engenho sugar culture of the Central Recôncavo. Cachoeira was the major local center of the Western Recôncavo and of the tobacco economy throughout colonial times. While these cities maintain some of their former importance, they are mainly cities of the past, growing at a much slower rate than most urban centers. Both cities
633 lie at or near the head of navigation,[35] and both are on the rail-
496 road which runs from Salvador to the western interior. The construc-
494 tion of the railroad and the development of automotive transport apparently have been important factors in the declining importance of these cities, for it is no longer necessary to trans-ship goods brought down from the interior into boats at these places. The
633 railroads and trucks move the goods directly to Salvador.[36] At present
[565] these cities function as local trade centers, as minor industrial centers--Cachoeira-São Félix in tobacco; Santo Amaro in sugar--and as the residences of decadent upper class families whose fortunes declined with the disappearance of the slave-holding agricultural systems.

The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

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The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

	1950 Population
Maragogipe	9,744
Muritiba	7,452
Cruz das Almas	6,758
São Gonçalo	3,771

are all local trade and cigar manufacturing centers. Maragogipe is a port of minor importance.[37] The other urban centers have inland locations, near the inner edge of the Crystalline Uplands.[38]

Near the Recôncavo are four urban centers which have minor but appreciable effect upon its agricultural economy:

	1950 Population
Santo Antônio de Jesus	11,417
Nazaré	11,215
Castro Alves	6,479
Serrinha	4,602

Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré are located along the southern periphery of the Recôncavo, and Castro Alves and Serrinha on the southwestern and northwestern periphery, respectively. All these centers are on one of Bahia's two main railroads, both of which terminate at the Bay--at Salvador or at São Roque do Paraguaçu.[39]

In 1950 the nine major urban centers of the Recôncavo had 100,000 to 120,000 workers in industry, transportation, and merchandising.[40] In all cities of the Recôncavo, except Salvador, the industrial workers almost exclusively were engaged in processing agricultural products--in sugar refining, cigar manufacturing, and slaughtering. Except for some of the animals slaughtered in Feira de Santana and the poorer grades of tobacco brought in from the sertão, these agricultural products originate in the Recôncavo.

The industrial structure of Salvador is more complex. It processes agricultural products from the Recôncavo, but also from other parts of the state, notably cacao. There is a small textile industry. It is probable that the majority of the industrial workers are employed in numerous small service industries which supply Salvador

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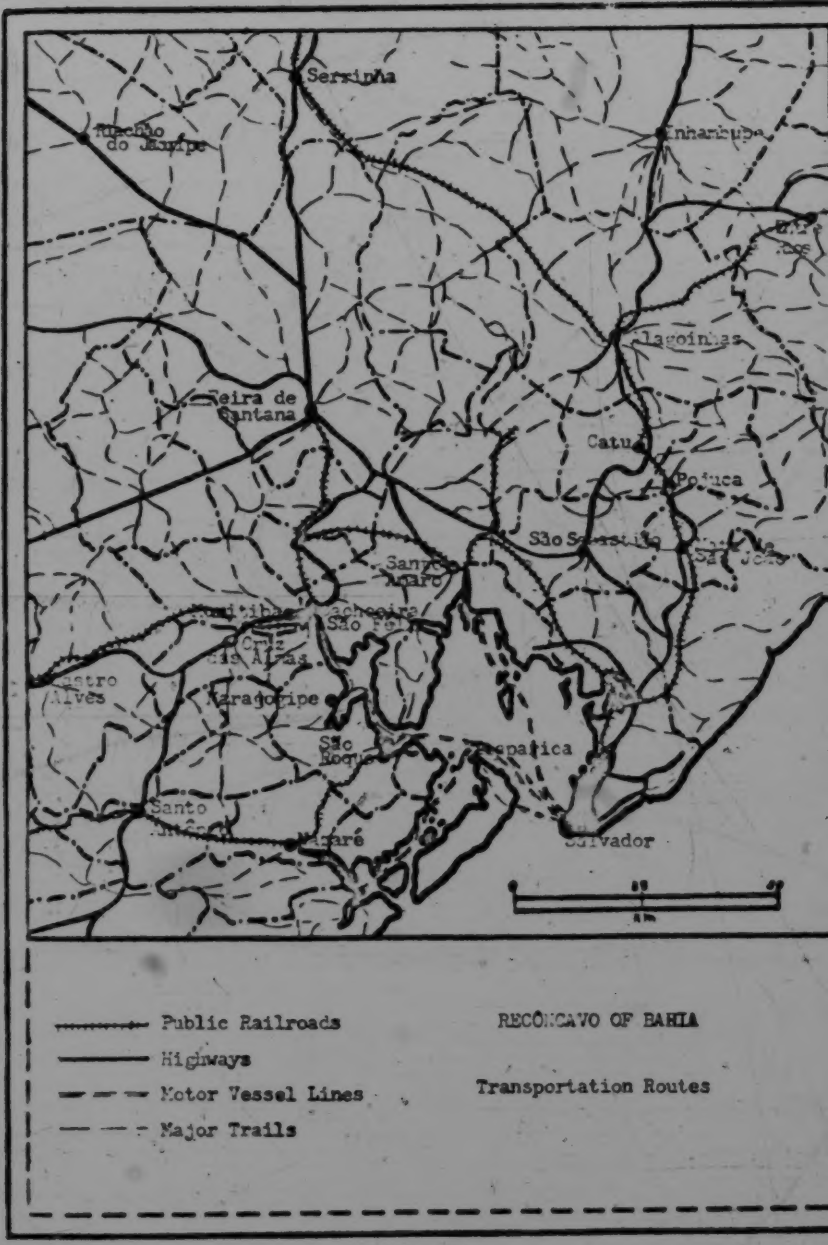

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497 usually carried by rail or by automotive transport. The operation of
494 the economy of the Recôncavo seems to require a constant movement of merchants, fazendeiros (landowners) and agents between the various cidades, and between the lesser urban centers and Salvador or Feira de Santana.

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497 The two railroad systems which serve the Recôncavo and the adjoining areas are both narrow-gauge lines. The most extensive system belongs to the Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro, called the "Leste." It is part of a larger network which, in theory, connects Rio de Janeiro and the rest of the Central-South with the Northeast as far as Maceió in the state of Alagoas. Within the Recôncavo the main lines of the Leste stretch out from Salvador northward through Alagoinhas and westward through Cachoeira. A branch line of the latter runs to Feira de Santana.

The Estrada de Ferro Nazaré railroad crosses only the corner of the Recôncavo, but it runs for a long distance near the southwestern perimeter. The line begins at Jequié in the coffee zone and terminates at the cidade of Nazaré and at São Roque on the estuary of the Rio
[505] Paraguaçu below Maragogipe. These two terminals are connected to Salvador by motor vessels which attempt to coordinate their schedules with the trains. A rail link between the Nazaré line at Santo Antônio and the Leste at Cruz das Almas has been under construction for some years.

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497 Most of the rolling stock of the Leste is archaic, but the Nazaré line has relatively good equipment. The woodburning locomotives used by both railroads are small but are kept in good repair and operate with reasonable efficiency. They are cheap and flexible to operate and, in view of the limited fuel resource of Brazil, seem almost ideal. The Leste has a diesel engine for the passenger train which operates between

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249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
505 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
•496 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
471 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the
249 usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment,
but the general level of technology is considerably below that of
Pernambuco or São Paulo, and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas
grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of
vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high
quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
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438 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
439 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
382 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
385 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
654 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial
alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize
the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company,
which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment,
and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

The railroad from Salvador to the interior passes about 15 kilometers east of Vila Recôncavo, and the planters situated near it experience the same difficulties of horseback travel when getting the train to go to the city.

There is no public transportation within the county. The train is so far from the town of Vila Recôncavo that it is not used by the town dwellers. Most of the population walks to wherever it is going, except to Salvador. Few people in town have horses or mules, for there is insufficient pasture nearby. As a result of the poor roads, the townspeople are dependent upon water navigation, a factor which helps to orient them to other towns by the water's edge and discourages communication between the town and the plantations of the interior of the county. At any season, there is little happening in the plantation area to attract the townspeople. On the other hand, people from the plantation come to the town, especially to see the doctor, for a special Mass, or to take the boat to Salvador. They rarely come for the movie, except those few subsistence gardeners (roçeiros) who live nearby, for travel is too difficult. During the dry season almost all transportation of goods is accomplished by an ox-drawn cart (carro de boi) with two large, solid wooden wheels drawn by eight oxen (junta de boi). The cart is driven by a man, and the oxen follow a small boy who walks in front of them.

The community of Vila Recôncavo comprises an area of some 80 square kilometers in the shape of a semicircle, bounded on one side by water and on the other by a high ridge. This area, which includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, forms a natural as well as a cultural unit. The remaining 100 square kilometers of the county fall into two subregions, one very small area which is oriented toward Centro and Cana-Uba (see map), and another which is strongly oriented toward Salvador. The three areas are drawn together by local administration: police, school system, tax collecting, and the collection of statistics--in other words, by the formal structure of county administration.

The 80 square kilometers of the community of Vila Recôncavo are composed almost entirely of thirteen large plantations, eleven of which are devoted to the cultivation of sugar cane. Of the other two, one plants cane on a small scale and rents most of its land to subsistence gardeners, while the second is a summer home, producing nothing. Of the eleven which plant sugar cane, six belong to the sugar factory which

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occupation of the poor people, who sell them after drying in the city of Salvador. . . .[9]

In 1837 Centro officially became a city, and for another hundred years it was the major commercial point of the sugar-Recôncavo. Gradually, however, it fell into the same pattern of decline which continues today in so much of the Recôncavo. In the 1900's a railroad was constructed from Salvador to Feira de Santana; it passed well back of Vila Recôncavo, missing it so far as to be of no aid whatsoever. Although it passed through Centro, the terminal point, Feira, became more important commercially to the state and became the new gateway to the north, west, and south of the state and of the nation. Although Centro is now a large town with a population of some ten thousand people and a weekly market which attracts people from the countryside and the neighboring towns, this is not enough to sustain it. Its port is now comparatively little used for the export of sugar, which in most cases goes directly to Salvador by train from the factories.

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The immediate cause for the decay of the town of Vila Recôncavo, and to a great extent that of Centro and of so many other older towns, was the loss of functions after the period of frontier growth. Those towns which had been religious centers lost this function. Military posts were no longer needed, and administrative activities became more restricted as the counties were cut down in size and as the state and federal governments took over more functions, such as schools and health programs. Railroads and trucks have lately reduced the importance of the port towns. The rural towns no longer interest the wealthy rural aristocracy who always dominated and supported them. More rapid transportation has made it possible for this class to move about from plantation or factory to the town or the city and back in one day instead of three, thus removing the need for a town house in which to spend the night. Better transportation has also made it possible for the other classes to go to Salvador easily for shopping, medical purposes, festivals, and visiting. Thus Salvador, because of its nearness and the relative ease of transportation, has taken on many of the functions of the rural

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9. Ibid., Letter XIII, p. 501 (author's translation).

[The Usina]

seer is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other worker: a house, land on which to grow subsistence crops, and the use of the owner's pastures for his oxen, burros, and horses. The horses used in his work are supplied by the corporation, as are those of the other overseers. His salary is high: Cr$2.000,00 a month, plus a bonus of one cruzeiro for each ton of cane produced on all six plantations. The regional overseers receive Cr$800,00 a month, plus a bonus of half a cruzeiro per ton of cane produced on their plantation. Seu Pipiu has been general overseer of Usina São Pedro for twenty-five years, during which time he has accumulated a good deal of property. He is a mulatto, somewhat lighter skinned than the six administrators who are under him. Two of his sons work in the factory office, and a third runs the store on one of the plantations. In addition he is a small farmer, renting some forty acres from the factory, on which he plants sugar cane. He pays 25 per cent of the harvest to the factory for the use of the land.

The usineiros have the same complaints against their general overseers that private plantation owners have against theirs. At the same time, after many years of service such an official becomes indispensable, or is thought to be, and is allowed to go his way--quiet, well dressed, well mounted, ruler of all he surveys--while the usineiro watches and mutters to himself.

So far the rural properties of the factories have led the private plantations in the field of mechanization, as they have greater funds for purchasing equipment and can get more use out of each piece. Mechanization, however, is used as yet only in preparing the soil for planting. The ground is plowed and replowed, and grooves are made to receive the cane shoots. Also, planting in unplowed land is still common--grooves are opened for the seed with the simple plow, and no soil preparation is done at all. Here mechanization ends, and all further cultivation, as well as the cutting and harvesting of the cane, is done by hand. Narrow-gauge railway tracks reach out from the mill to loading points on the six plantations, where the cane is transferred from the oxcarts to the railroad wagons to be drawn to the mill. Approximately two thousand acres are under cultivation; the remaining land is used as pasture or as garden plots by the workers, in accordance with a rotation system.

Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run

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58 begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more importance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Milagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged for the county, through taxes on the finished products from